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ABSTRACT

A model is used to provide a framework for secondary teachers of intercultural studies who wish to compare and contrast developing nations and, further, to identify characteristics of the nature of the society to determine the nations' modernity. Although C. E. Black's model is general, i.e. it applies to all countries, the author applies this model specifically to the countries of China and Japan. Black examines a society's entrance into a modern era by using categories of intellectual, political, economics, social, and psychological revolutions. Students can not only adapt this system of comparison, but can go further and investigate the leadership of a modernizing society, analyzing the thrust of such impact through examination of four steps: the challenge of modernity, the consolidation of modernizing leadership, economic and social transformation, and the integration of society. A brief description of Black's seven patterns of modernization conclude the paper. (SJM)

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Service Center Papers on Asian Studies

No. 2

THE DYNAMICS OF MODERNIZATION, A STUDY IN COMPARATIVE HISTORY BY C. E. BLACK: SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR CLASSROOM USE

By Daniel F. Davis

March 1972

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STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

This is one of a series of papers of the Service Center for Teachers of Asian Studies, which was established by the Association for Asian Studies (AAS) in 1971. The Center came into being as a direct response to the long-felt need of the AAS to give more attention to the needs of the secondary and elementary school teachers who are teaching about Asia. The Center's primary activity is to act as a clearinghouse, to collect and classify all the existing materials on Asia, and to give guidance to teachers of all levels as to the best available materials for the particular needs of a given teacher or a given school situation. One of the ways of achieving this aim is the publication of this present series of papers.

It should be stated at once that while the Center is making these papers available to interested persons, the expressions of opinion and views contained in each of these papers should be attributed exclusively to their specific authors. The Center and the Association neither endorse nor advocate necessarily the author's positions and opinions.

In the future it is hoped that the Center will expand its activities to serve every legitimate need of all school teachers dealing with Asia. At this initial stage, however, the greatest immediate need seems to be to provide some information on and guidelines to the large amount of existing materials, many of them created for very different, though equally legitimate, purposes. By means of these papers, which seeks to present a variety of individual views, and by means of individual and group consultations, the Center seeks to assist all teachers in the important task of introducing to American school children the vast and varied part of human concern which is contained in the past and present of Asian experience.

Samuel C. Chu
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The Dynamics of Modernization: A Study in Comparative History
by C. E. Black
Some Suggestions for Classroom Use

Both students and teachers have long complained that history has been treated as unique. They have found it difficult to begin to classify and generalize about societies as a whole. As a result, one begins to get the feeling that knowing what has happened at a particular time and place is no longer enough. The objective of the paper, is to acquaint teachers of intercultural studies with one model by which to compare modernizing societies.

There has been no attempt to treat completely the process of modernization. Rather it is a meager attempt to acquaint you with a model of developing countries which include China & Japan. It seems evident, to me at least, that a cursory treatment of other modernizing societies is necessary. For one thing, any attempt to use a comparative concept ought not to be restricted to just China and Japan.

In addition, one of the aims of Asian Studies Education ought to be the examination of societies with similar constructs and paradigms.

The suggestions for classroom usage are purposly vague. The categories and criteria themselves will hopefully act as catalysts for hypothesis testing and the examination of other inquiry skills.

C. E. Black in his short text, The Dynamics of Modernization (Harper and Row, 49 East 33rd Street, New York, N. Y, 10016; 1967, 206 pp., paper, $1.60), attempts to give cohesion to two areas of social studies which have long been viewed in isolation: Nationalism and Modernization.

Although the model does not deal directly with Japan and China, it does provide an excellent framework for the instructor.

By using this model of modernization one can repeat the questions suggested by the author for other modernizing attempts not only in Asia, but in Europe and Africa as well.

In using any comparative method, there are obvious shortcomings. Black however, offers a system of comparison which may be adapted by the high school student. Black has selected five arbitrary categories by which to examine a society's entrance into the modern era.

1. Intellectual Revolution: He begins with "intellectual" category on that assumption that, "the growth of man's understanding and control over his environment in all of its complexity plays a vital role in the process of change in modern times." (p.13)

   One of the most important features of the intellectual revolution was the impact the application of science had on the affairs of man in the form of technology. Conversely, the lack of technology, in the form of manufacturing, transportation, agriculture and medicine acted as political devices in many traditional societies. Traditional China's continued inability to maintain an adequate food supply left her open to an almost infinite number of rebellions which often toppled the empire.

2. Political Revolution: The consolidation of policy making due to new technological innovations (i.e. communications and transportation) often allow the political leaders a measure of control unknown in the traditional society.

One may assume that as the technology of a society becomes more advanced, state institutions become more centralized.

In traditional societies, political control tended to take the form of tax collection, defense against modern irrigation projects and the maintenance of the "ever normal grainaries." In the case of China, "the authority of the central government reached down to the individual peasant only indirectly and through a variety of intermediaries." (p.13)

China's political history has been characterized by a constant struggle between imperial and feudal control. In periods of "good times" the imperial government had a sufficient measure of power, in "times of troubles" however, there occurred what some sociologists have termed refeudalization and re-aristocratization. The theme of centralization vs. regionalism is one which runs throughout Chinese history. One might hypothesize that in the period of civil strife (1932-1949) Nationalist China was not "sufficiently modern" to present the all-out civil war which finally destroyed her government; or to hypothesize that the very lack of modernity was an asset to the Communist Chinese.

3. Economics Revolution: The economic development of a society may be viewed from two interrelated phenomena: savings and investment.

At every stage of economic development, a choice has to be made as to where the emphasis shall lie. There are also certain "facts" of economic life which must be followed. It is fair to suggest that a large output of consumer items may be initially beneficial to a developing society, but will take away from the production of capital goods. (THOSE ITEMS WHICH IN TURN PRODUCE OTHER GOODS. i.e. steel factories).

Some political leaders i.e. Mao Tze-tung during the "Great Leap Forward" demanded maximum output of capital goods at the expense of the civilian population.

Other political leaders (i.e. the Genro during the Meiji Restoration) were satisfied with a moderate Gross National Product increase along with a corresponding increase in the personal disposable income and the total living standard. Black states that "in modern societies one-sixth to one-quarter of the gross national product may be reinvested each year, stimulating a continuing rapid growth over a period of many decades. In traditional societies, by contrast, only one-twentieth or less of the Gross National Product may be invested, and in some cases the rate of economic growth is slower than the growth of population, so that the inhabitants become gradually poorer over the decades." (P.20)

4. Social Revolution: One of the consequences of the political, intellectual and economic revolution has been its impact on society. What results is a rapid transition from rural to urban societies, with all of the implications

of the transition from a larger extended family to the "modern" nuclear family. Along similar lines, specialized occupations have created enormous mobility in urban societies 25% of the American people each year, relocate, often in response to occupational demands.

Migration in traditional societies has usually occurred as a result of foreign invasion or natural calamity. When they regroup, the family patterns are usually kept intact.

One of the most significant manifestations of societal revolution is the impact of education upon the youth of a given country.

In modernizing societies the traditional role of men and women become blurred. No longer does brute strength dominate the relationship. A quick survey of marriage and divorce patterns in the People's Republic of China as well as Japan will indicate a more equitable role for women.

Perhaps the most manifest result of modernization is the astounding decrease in the death rate. Without a corresponding decrease in the birth rate, population increases become a serious hazard, especially when one is trying to save more than he consumes. (A more complete view of population "problems" in modern China will appear in the Spring 1971 issue of Focus).

5. Psychological Revolution: In traditional societies, roles and mores are clearly defined. Children may expect to meet with some measure of success if they follow the patterns of their parents. However, this "tradition directed," or as Margaret Mead refers to it, "post-figurative society" breaks down as a consequence of modernization. The very structure of traditional societies inhibit individualism. The stronger the traditional society (i.e. China) the more tenaciously the people hold on to their culture. If one were to view the Chinese experience during the 19th Century it becomes obvious that no consensus was attained, and at least in part it was due to how many Chinese (especially upper strata) view themselves and the world. Perhaps the over used cliché that "Western learning was necessary, but Chinese learning was fundamental" makes the point most concisely.

During the modernization phase, the young people tend to pattern themselves after their peers, rather than their parents. Parents too, tend to shun their tradition and pattern themselves after their own peer group.

Japan has already witnessed these manifestations in their youth. The youth of the world, especially in the U.S. and Western Europe seem to have more to do with a Japanese adolescent's view of the world, than centuries of tradition. In fact it is Margaret Mead's thesis in Culture and Commitment, that the youth of the world are liken to the children of first generation immigrants whose "world parents" can never begin to understand the Post W.W. II society.

"It is therefore useful to think of modernization as a process by which traditional institutions are adapted to modern functions," keeping in mind the revolution just discussed. One of the weaknesses however, of the Functional Model, is that it tends toward the intellectual side. Those aspects of Society which may be irrational or traditional may not be observed by a functional approach.

It might be appropriate to think of:

a) Functional Change as depending on a few, being rapid and easy, and
b) Structural Change as depending on many, and being slow and painful

For example, what Japan and the United States do is becoming more similar, but the way they do it remains different in significant respects (WHAT=FUNCTION-WAY=STRUCTURE)

"One may think of traditional societies as a pattern of inherited institutions or structures that are relatively static at the time that modern knowledge makes its initial impact on it. The effect of modern knowledge is to change the functions that traditional institutions must perform and this in turn affects the institutions themselves. It is in this sense that the impact of modern functions on traditional institutions lies at the heart of the process of modernization." (p.55)

Types of Leadership:

Students can investigate the leadership of a modernizing society. In generating his hypothesis he can ask: a. whether the modernizing leadership came from the ranks of the traditional leaders, (i.e. Japan) or b. whether the modernizing leadership came from other sources; or c. whether the modernizing leadership was well born of peasant background.

In dealing with this phase of modernization, Black chooses four distinct steps by which the student may analyze the thrust of the modernizing impact. (1) The Challenge of Modernity: the initial confrontation of a society, within its traditional framework of knowledge.

An excellent example for comparison of initial responses to modernization would be Japan and China. A high school student should be able to determine China's response to "Westernization" and compare it to Japan's obviously very different response. Why should two Asian nations with similar language, religion, and institutions react in such different ways?

(2) The Consolidation of Modernizing Leadership: the transfer of power from traditional to modernizing leaders. Accordingly, Black cites three phases within this larger category.

a. The assertion on the part of political leaders of the determination to modernize. This assertion was exemplified in the Self-Strengthening Movement and the reforms attempted by Kung Yu-wei.

b. An effective and decisive break with the institutions associated predominantly with an agrarian way of life. Perhaps the most radical change in China's traditional history was the elimination of the civil service examination in 1905.

c. The creation of a politically organized society in those cases where one did not exist in the initial phase. Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek were attempting to rid China of regional patterns, i.e. War Lords, in order to bring nationalism to fruition.

Obviously this model is not foolproof and the comparison of China and Japan proves the point.

Whereas in Japan there was a decisive approach taken by political leaders in an effort to modernize, the Chinese wavered back and forth from tradition to modernization and back again. One only has to look at the Self-Strengthening Movement and the abortive reforms of Kang Yu-wei in the 1890's to see the possibilities. Yet when one observed overthrow of the Tokugawa Shogunate and the subsequent restoration of the Emperor as a symbol of modernization it became apparent that the differences between the two countries is monumental.

Another excellent theme for analyzing the modernizing nation is whether or not the revolution which brought the political leadership to power was violent or non-violent; along with the question of violence, is whether or not the revolution was internal or external.

It may be interesting to see how students set up criteria by which to judge an internal or external revolution. One might suggest, for example, that although there were external elements in the United States and China during their respective revolutions, the brunt of the revolution was still internal.

As for the first point, non-violent revolutions are rare, although there have been some successful ones. The overthrow of the Tokugawa Shogunate in 1868 was relatively bloodless, and similarly the first Nationalist revolution in 1911 was relatively non-violent. It may be interesting to note that the reason for non-violent revolutions may have more to do with the impotence of the traditional leadership than it does with the enlightenment, on their part, to step down from power. "It was an essential feature of these reforms, however, that they were designed not to transform the traditional system but to strengthen it against foreign pressures." (p. 121)

Another criterion by which to judge the transformation is the existence or non-existence of a viable nation-state from which the leadership can gather a consensus. In the case of Japan and China, a secure national identity already existed.

(3) Economic and Social Transformation: The development of economic growth and social change to a point where a society is transformed from a predominantly rural and agrarian way of life to one predominantly urban and industrial.

One manifestation of this phase of modernization is the intense jealousy of rural parties and the tenacious desire on the part of the ruling elite to maintain their own position. Without too much difficulty, one can look at the role of the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party) in China and Chiang Kai-shek's attempt to maintain party solidarity by ridding the KMT of any leftist members or communists. The Japanese Party system on the other hand seems to have all the trappings of a modern two party system, yet when one observes closely the power structure it is more a one and a half party system with the Socialists being the half a party. (Although the recent election results may disprove this position).

If one is interested, it is during this phase of modernization that a value lag manifests itself. The movement from the countryside to the cities

creates many significant social diseases such as anomie, estrangement and extended family breakdown. It would be interesting for students to look at these latent functions of transformation.

(4) The last phase is The Integration of Society. This is the phase in which economic and social transformation produces a fundamental reorganization of the social structure throughout society. It is during this phase of development that individual relationships undergo significant alteration. Usually one's ties to community, family and region become obscured, and are replaced by more amorphous groups of ties to the city, his job and his nation. This shift has many implications for the student of sociology.

What are some disadvantages to a highly technological society? What are the political and economic pressures that force people to create a state of shaky equilibrium that can never move an inch off center for fear the society will crumble? For example students can gather data on what "advanced societies" consider acceptable and unacceptable rates of unemployment. In some cases the difference may be only one or two percent. It might be interesting to look at the impact that inflation had upon Nationalist China during the 1940's and observe why the simple barter economy of the Chinese Communists was a distinct advantage during those years of spiraling prices.

Other significant questions for the high school student to ask, is what happens to personal power during this phase of integration, how is power exercised, what is the relationship between the population and the bureaucracy; what happens to the political party system.

Finally, what happens to societies that fail to integrate during this period of manifestation--i.e. (China, Japan, Germany, Italy.)

Black doesn't mention a fifth phase, but I wonder whether or not "the disintegration of society" might not be appropriate for the 1970's at least in the United States and Western Europe. As there were latent results in other phases of modernization, so there are latent results in this phase, (massification of society, counter-culture drug abuse, anomie etc.)

There are tons of literature dealing with those problems mentioned above. Perhaps the most significant element in this model is for the high school student to trace the kinds of motifs operating in all societies at any given stage of development.

Perhaps the following brief description of Black's seven patterns of Modernization may be of some help.

First Pattern (Great Britain, France)

Earliest countries to modernize; set the pattern, to a significant degree, for all other societies. "There are significant common elements among Puritans, Jacobins, and Bolsheviks, in the social origins of their leaders in their emphasis on order and discipline, and in their efforts at a national reappraisal of the old order." (p. 107)

We have often made much of our own experience as a model for subsequent revolutions, however, Black states that, "this influence has been limited and indirect, since the intellectual and social environment that produced the American revolution has few counterparts in other parts of the world. The French revolution on the other hand, contributed both ideology and institutions that were widely imitated. French republicanism was the model for modernizing leaders in much of the Moslem world as well as in Latin America." (p. 107)

Second Pattern (Offshoots of the first pattern)

The term "offshoots" designates those countries which have been settled by Old World immigrants (i.e. U.S., Canada, New Zealand, Australia). They differ from the first pattern in that the transfer of power was late, and under different circumstances, there was some regrouping of lands and peoples, with a long period of colonial rule. Of the countries mentioned in this pattern the U.S. was most violent in their attempts to unseat the traditional leadership. What these countries had in common are as follows:

(1) undeveloped frontier regions where land was abundant but authority was weak. (The Proclamation of 1763 is but one example of British attempt to maintain some sort of political continuity in the colonies.)
(2) This frontier served as a safety valve for social problems and the adventurous immigrants.
(3) China's large interior allowed for a measure of flexibility. Japan, perhaps with the exception of her northern island of Hokkaido, was forced to centralized and integrate her indigenous population.
(4) The need for labor to develop the resources in the frontier caused large immigration from Africa, Europe and Asia. Needless to say, the sociological problems of a heterogeneous society with people of various cultures and languages, created much disunity.

Third Pattern (European countries in which the consolidation of leadership occurred after the French Revolution but was a direct or indirect result of its impact).

Like the first two patterns, these countries also had institutions that were adaptable to modernization. This pattern was also characterized by much regrouping of peoples and territories.

Fourth Pattern - (Latin America)

"The societies in this pattern are the twenty-two independent countries of Latin America, with a combined population of some 230 million.

Unlike the second pattern, modernization was late, and was to a great degree under foreign influence. The transfer of power to the indigenous rulers did not result in a modernizing leadership, but rather, tended to maintain the similar forms of neo-colonialism.

One of the significant reasons for late consolidation according to Black, "can be explained in part by the agrarian wealth of these countries, which inhibited the development of an urban population, but it seems to have been due primarily to the values of the politically active inhabitants." (p. 117)

In addition, the thrust toward modernization has been severely limited by the fact the small European minority were not inclined to share their power with the Mestizo and Indians.

Fifth Pattern (China, Japan, Turkey, Iran, Russia)

All countries in this pattern "experienced some degree of foreign intervention in modern times--periods of foreign occupation in parts of their territory, preferential treatment for foreigners in the form of capitulations, and extensive reliance on foreign loans and advisers. These various kinds of intervention were nevertheless a very different experience from the direct and prolonged foreign tutelage represented by colonialism. The leaders of these societies may have been humilitated in varying degrees by the extent of their reliance on more modern societies, but with the exception of relatively short periods of occupation, it was a question of dependence rather than subjugation. (p. 120)

What is most significant in relationship to this pattern of development was that all these nations initiated programs to protect themselves from total domination. Black calls it "defensive modernization."

This defensive modernization was manifested in the ideas of quasi reformers such as Peter Stolypen of Russia, Kung Yu-wei of China, Mongkut and Chulalongkorn of Siam and the Emperor Menelik of Ethiopia. Often foreign specialists were brought in to train future scholars, and many times, students were sent overseas to train for their specialties.

What is significant is that the initial break with the past was not a result of indigenous revolutionary forces or an occupation by a foreign ruler. The emancipation of the serfs in Russia in 1861, the overthrow of the Shogunate in Japan in 1868, the replacement of the Chinese classics by modern learning in 1905 are but three examples of the decisive break with the past made by the ruling elite.

Sixth and Seventh Patterns

The countries in these patterns comprise more than a hundred independent and dependent countries of Asia, Africa, the Americas and Oceania. The sixth pattern comprises thirty-four independent and 29 dependent societies, with a total population of over 1 billion. They are grouped together because their cultures are sufficiently developed to be able to interact with modern tutelary societies. The societies constituting the seventh pattern (31 independent and 20 dependent societies of Sub-Saharan Africa and Oceania) did not have their religious political or economic institutions developed to meet the challenge of modernity. What has occurred is wholesale borrowing of ready made institutions to fit their particular needs.

Both patterns have had long experiences with colonialism which has had a great impact on their initial experience with modernization. The problem occurs in the next phase where the urban elite who have been educated abroad are stifled by the more traditional elite as well as colonial administrators. Some authors, such as Frantz Fanon, see these urban elite as talking revolution but acting reformation.